the Assembly. If treaties should give rise to situations which the Assembly deemed likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations between nations, it could make recommendations with respect to such situations."

Bolivia has always respected the treaties and pledges to which she has subscribed. If we favor their revision, it is because some countries had no alternative than to accept them, and because their enforcement would endanger peace. We believe that in drawing up the Charter we should make it possible to review any case of injustice whether deriving from a treaty or not. We repeat that the revision of treaties does not imply failure to fulfill them on the part of any of the parties thereto, but a rectification of untenable provisions contained therein; we also maintain that in order to correct such conditions, in no case should direct friendly settlement between the parties be excluded, since it is preferable to all other methods. The world Organization should intervene only in cases where the efforts to reach a friendly and equitable understanding have failed and have endangered the peaceful relations between the states.

In order that man may live in freedom from fear, he must have absolute certainty of security, of a security which is based not only on force but also on reason and justice and on the full conviction that peace thus assured will attain progress and happiness for future generations. A peace based solely on force would have a dramatic similarity to the peace which is endured in prisons; on the other hand, a peace which respects freedom and invigorates the peoples, coordinating their activities and cooperating in the realization of their hopes and desires, will be the peace for which the free peoples of the world hope, and for which millions of men and women have died.

It is with this trust, Honorable Delegates, that I shall return to my country to dispel the anxiety in which my people live at this moment. When the forces of Nazism seemed about to overrun the world, the Republic of Bolivia, small as it is, did not hesitate to unite its fate to that of the great powers placing all its strategic resources at the service of the sacred cause. In doing this my people were not guided by cold calculation, but rather by the deep conviction that they were enlisting their forces in a war against tryanny and in defense of justice. Now, Honorable Delegates, it is with that same faith that we take our place in the struggle to win the peace, certain that it will not be possible to deviate from the ideals of justice that have inspired the world in the greatest struggle of all times. And thus my people, hemmed in by the Andes mountains, look toward the future with faith in the world Organization, which some day will study the problems arising from Bolivia's mid-continental situation and will recognize the right of that landlocked people to be linked to the rest of the world through having its own free access to the sea.

Honorable Delegates, we have placed our best ideas and our greatest energies at the service of the world's aspirations, in endeavoring to create, in the Assembly of nations, a forum which shall be the most objective expression of progress and human civilization.

I do not hesitate to say that the task assigned to us was most important and delicate, for in fulfilling it we had to harmonize the painful experience of the immediate past with the noble purpose of creating a world without hatred and rancor. It remains for the future to perfect this system and it remains for history to judge whether we have succeeded in interpreting the present.

## STATEMENT BY HUGUES LE GALLAIS, CHAIRMAN OF THE LUXEMBOURG DELEGATION

The Luxembourg Delegation wishes to declare that, taking into consideration the present political situation of the world, it is entirely satisfied with the United Nations Charter in its present form. The reasons for this declaration are as simple as they are obvious: small nations want peace, small nations want the big nations to sit around a table and discuss their problems until they find a common ground of agreement, and small nations want to be able to bring their own problems before a Forum of the World or before a restricted council which has the power to act, according to the circumstances of each case, all of which this Charter should ensure and enable to do.

The Luxembourg Delegation considers that the United Nations Charter represents a considerable improvement as compared to the Covenant of the League of Nations, because the present Charter takes more fully into account the political realities of the world of today than the Covenant did for the world it faced twenty-five years ago.

Whilst admitting that from a theoretical point of view it is conceivable that a better document might have been written, the Luxembourg Delegation will support the United Nations Charter to the utmost and do whatever is in its power to obtain the ratification of same by the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies. The Luxembourg delegates are entirely confident that this ratification will take place because they know that their fellow countrymen are not only peace-loving, but also peoples who have severly suffered during this war and who are prepared to look the realities of life squarely in the face.

The Luxembourg Delegation believes that the chapter of the Charter on the Economic and Social Council will receive the whole-hearted support of their country and that the contents of same will be appreciated to the fullest extent by people who for thirty years have been among the leaders in the field of social advancement.

In conclusion, the Luxembourg delegates wish to express their sincere hope that the same spirit of cooperation as was shown during the San Francisco Conference will prevail among the representatives of the United Nations when they meet again. The instrument to maintain peace is there, but how it can be used will depend upon the good-will of men.

## STATEMENT BY ALEXANDER LOUDON, ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE NETHERLANDS DELEGATION

The Netherlands Delegation started its work at this Conference moved by a spirit of sober optimism and great humility. Without optimism, without hope, without faith, no human task can be brought to a successful end. Humility is equally a prerequisite when fifty countries, differing greatly, not only in power but also in their constitutional, social, and economic systems, endeavor to lay down common rules for their future guidance in international relations. In an undertaking of such magnitude there are therefore always many *more* reasons, but not better ones, for disagreement than for agreement. For we all know where the consequence of disagreement must inevitably lead: to even graver conflicts in the future.

In a world where all countries have become neighbors, all countries large and small, must be good neighbors, if peace and security are to be maintained.

Here in San Francisco we have laid the foundation and prepared the machinery by which we hope that peaceful relations between nations will be maintained in the years to come. Will the machinery prove to be reliable and efficient? We cannot at the moment give a definite answer to that question. But I believe that we may say this. In its entirety we need not be ashamed of the work which has been accomplished.

It is undoubtedly true that many of us would have preferred a somewhat different Charter, containing, for instance, more liberal provisions with regard to the voting procedure in the Security Council. But I do not want to dwell at this time on what we believe to be imperfections in the instrument, and which we sincerely hope will be corrected in due course. Far more important than the machinery to maintain peace and security, is the *will* of the United Nations to *use* that machinery for the good of the world. Nothing but that determination can support the Charter: without that determination the most perfect organization would be of no avail.

We believe that as a result of our labors, the United Nations are more determined today than ever before to maintain security, to stop aggression, to establish a better world with justice for all men and all nations.

Let us dedicate ourselves to the task that lies ahead of us, in the spirit of the Gettysburg Address: "It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced."

## STATEMENT BY WILHELM MUNTHE MORGENSTIERNE, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORWEGIAN DELEGATION

The signing this morning of the San Francisco Charter, on behalf of the Norwegian Government and people, was for the Norwegian Delegation a solemn and deeply gratifying task.

There is no doubt in our hearts that we have been privileged to take part in the moulding of a document which signifies an important and definite step forward in the history of mankind. We feel strongly that in this document are incorporated some of the deepest hopes and longings of millions upon millions of harassed and cruelly tried men and women all over the world.

We know that no people could or will rejoice more at the result reached here in San Francisco than will the Norwegian people. Through 5 long years they learned the bitter lessons of war and brutal Nazi domination. They will look fervently to the Charter, and to the spirit in which the Charter is lived up to, for protection for themselves and peace and justice-loving men and women everywhere against a repetition of an experience, the memory of which can never be wiped out.

We know that this Charter represents the composite views and aspirations of the fifty freedom and justice-loving nations whose representatives have been gathered here in San Francisco for the last nine weeks. We know that all have put their shoulders to the wheel and contributed generously of the best in their minds and hearts. This Charter, while not perfect, is, we believe, the best that together we can bring forth today.

Our task has required hard work and more weeks than most of us anticipated. But surely the world will not ask how long we were together here. Rather it will ask with what wisdom and imagination we built for the future. And do not let us

forget that the main reason for the time it took to complete our task has been the fact that we had the fullest freedom of speech and discussion. In subcommittees, committees, and commissions every article was thoroughly discussed—sometimes over and over again. To my mind this definitely lends strength to our work and to the Charter. No one who participated in this great Conference will ever be able to say that he did not have the fullest opportunity to present the views of his Government and people on any matter pertaining to the Charter.

One more word. This has not been a Conference of which it can truly be said that on one side there was a group of great powers and on the other a group of small and middle countries. In the course of our deliberations there were substantial differences of opinion on many subjects between the smaller countries. And on many occasions a number of smaller countries were in whole-hearted agreement with, and voted with, the great powers. It is not correct, therefore, as has been done occasionally, to speak about "the 45 small nations" as opposed to "the Big Five". Everyone at this Conference spoke and voted according to the sincere convictions of his delegation. This is another factor which gives strength and dignity to the task performed at San Francisco and to the Charter which today goes out to eagerly awaiting men and women all over the world.

## STATEMENT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL CARLOS P. ROMULO, CHAIRMAN OF THE PHILIPPINE DELEGATION

We have reached an agreement. That, to me, is the great achievement of this Conference. It is not that we have set down on paper certain terms of agreement. *They* are transient. They appear to be workable today. They may not be tomorrow, and then we can again meet and agree to change them. But the *fact of* agreement—the fact that fifty nations, representing perhaps fifty basic divergences of self-interest, could for once distil from those divergences the purest essence of fundamental accord—*that* is permanent. That is *the* achievement.

And we of the smaller nations—to us this Conference has given something we have not known before: the conviction not only that our voice has been heard, but that it has been listened to. Thus, when our Philippine Delegation took the stand that, for dependent peoples, independence should be fixed as the goal, side by side with self-government, that stand was recognized; and because it was just, it was accepted. The great nations heard, and listened to, the voice of the little ones.

I have heard those who have guided this Conference say that all we now need is the sincerity to carry out the tasks we have set ourselves. This is true; but more important, I feel, is the fact that we have established a code of ethics for the world to come, which, because of the unassailability of its principles, will create a force of world public opinion so all-enveloping as to compel sincerity in the carrying out of those principles.

This, then, is our accomplishment: it is not an Atlantic Charter, nor a Pacific Charter; it is a World Charter; it is the Spiritual Bill of Rights; it will embrace and protect, at the same time that it liberates, the human spirit.

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The Philippine Delegation submitted twenty-five amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. Of these, four were adopted in full in the new Charter and six were adopted in part or in principle.

p.168c,168d, see p.639,640

*The United Nations Conference on International Organization*

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# ORDER OF THE DAY

Monday, June 4 1945

| Committee | Time | Room |
|---|---|---|
| II/3/A (Subcommittee) | 10:30 a.m. | 316 Veterans Building |
| III/3 | | 223 Veterans Building |
| I/1 | 3:30 p.m. | 303 Veterans Building |
| II/3 | | 223 Veterans Building |
| IV/2/A (Subcommittee) | | 316 Veterans Building |
| Coordination Committee | 5:30 p.m. | 418 Opera House |
| I/2 | 8:30 p.m. | 303 Veterans Building |
| II/2 | | 202 Veterans Building |

These meetings will not be open to the public.